ADLAI STEVENSON: THE MAN AND THE FORCES BEHIND HIM . . . See p. 6

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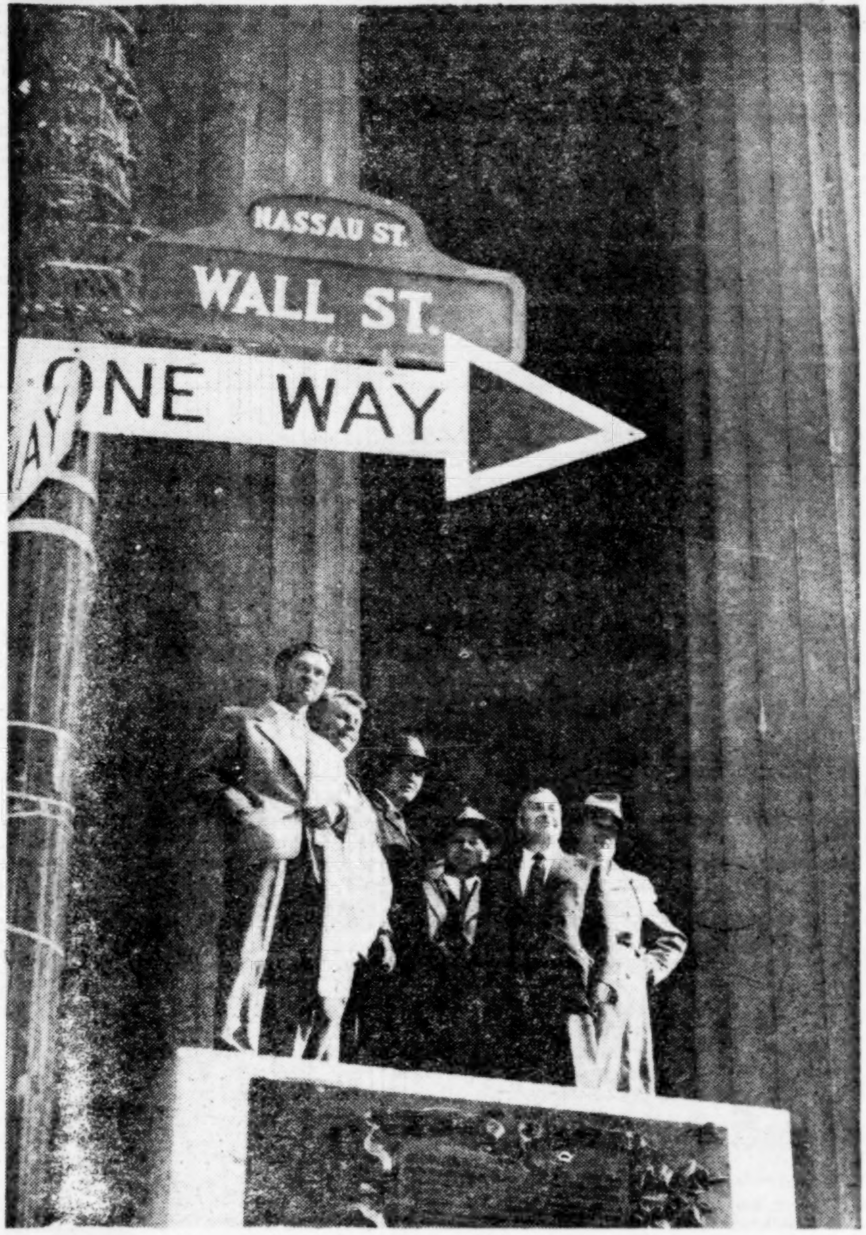
NASSAU ST.
WALL ST.
ONE WAY

You see, Comrades, capitalism is a one-way street . . .
That may be the symbol of the sign above the heads of the visiting Soviet journalists, here to see the "best of things" in American life. They got first-hand report on free enterprise from the Stock Exchange head.

WAR & PEACE

Washington's rigid stand for a rearmed Germany may spell Geneva's failure

By Tabitha Petran

SECY. OF STATE DULLES offered a pre-departure promise of "real conciliation" at Geneva and expressed "optimism" about German unification; but these sentiments contradicted the policies Washington has laid down for the foreign ministers meeting and the reported National Security Council verdict, Oct. 12, that the "spirit of Geneva is dead" (Drew Pearson, 10/19). "Hypocrisy," said Joseph & Stewart Alsop (10/24), "is the only word that properly describes the Western governments' approach" to Geneva.

Washington appeared to be setting the stage for blaming the U. S. S. R. if the conference fails. For it will stand pat on its demand for a rearmed, united Germany in NATO as the prior condition for any "security" system, knowing that the U. S. S. R. will not accept this proposal. After a conference with Dulles, Sen. Walter George (D.-Ga.) declared that "it would not be realistic to get much beyond the first item on the agenda" (European security and Germany).

RELUCTANT DRAGON: Washington's reluctance to discuss disarmament (second item) and East-West contacts (third) is understandable. Its position on disarmament is "highly vulnerable," as U. S. correspondents have repeatedly pointed out. And "U. S. officials are far from unanimous about permitting" East-West contacts (**Business Week,** 10/22). One of the most reluctant is Dulles who told the press on Oct. 19 that he thought "certain aspects" of the Soviet farm delegation visit "undesirable," especially its "emotionalism."

A preview of the rigidity and weakness of U. S. positions to be taken at Geneva has been given at the current UN Assembly session, especially on the issues of disarmament, the atoms-for-peace agency, and Security Council membership.

DISARMAMENT: The original U. S. strategy "to put the U. S. S. R. on the spot"—by winning Assembly endorsement of the President's aerial inspection plan as a substitute for disarmament—has foundered because even Washington's staunchest allies, who fear their domestic public opinion, are reluctant wholly to abandon disarmament. The U. S. plan, as the highest U. S. officials have made it plain, is designed to prevent disarmament. It originated with the Air Force, worried about the inadequacy of its information on strategic targets within the U.S.S.R.; and was approved by top Pentagon chiefs. For the President at Geneva it served as a handy way out of the embarrassing dilemma created by Soviet acceptance on May 10 of virtually all Western demands for a comprehensive disarmament plan.

The U. S. has gotten more "propaganda mileage" out of this plan than out of any idea of the cold war period,

(Continued on Page 4)

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"THINKING MAY BREAK OUT"

Prof. Dunham cleared of contempt; Supreme Court hears Slochower case

ON FEB. 27, 1953, Dr. Barrows Dunham, then head of the Philosophy Dept. of Temple University at Philadelphia, was summoned before the House Committee on Un-American Activities which in that year was making headlines about "communist infiltration of schools and colleges."

Dr. Dunham would have none of the committee. At first he refused to tell it his own name, finally revealed it, and gave his date of birth, birthplace and residence. That was all. The next two questions were about his educational background and his occupation. He refused to answer either under protection of the Fifth Amendment. His silence

(Continued on Page 9)

A SATELLITE STRAINS AT THE BONDS—I

Exclusive: Inside Greece

By Stephen M. George
Special to the GUARDIAN

ATHENS, GREECE

BECAUSE of its political executions, frame-up trials and camps overflowing with political prisoners, I came to Greece expecting to find a fascist country holding little hope of major change in the near future. The government installed by U. S. intervention in the Greek civil war would certainly be in firm control, I felt.

Actually, I found Greece bristling with developments that promise improvements to the long-suffering country and headaches to those who want to keep Greece under the U. S. thumb. These are things I learned:

- In the next election the present government is expected to be replaced by a comparatively liberal coalition government.
- The major cities of Greece have Left-supported mayors elected by landslides in the last municipal elections. Several mayors recently refused to obey a government order to get loyalty oaths from city employes, an order opposed also by the Greek Bar Assn.
- Three major parties are in accord on a demand for (1) a general amnesty for all political prisoners in Greece and for exiles in Eastern Europe; (2) for legalizing the Communist Party again.
- There are clashes between the U. S. State Dept. and the U. S. Military Mission in Greece.
- The issue of Cyprus is pulling Greece out of the Western bloc.
- One of the major newspapers in Athens is a daily named **Avghi** (Dawn), with a viewpoint similar to the GUARDIAN's.
- Athletes from Hungary have competed in Greece, and the mayor of the city of Volos has been invited to Moscow.

These are just a few of the striking facts but they give some idea of the complexity of present-day Greece.

AFTER PAPAGOS: The death of Premier Papagos provides a further illustration. Throughout the summer everyone knew that Papagos was dying. But the government issued frequent bulletins assuring

(Continued on Page 5)

When in doubt, RENEW!

If your address-plate reads Oct. '55 or earlier, your subscription is in arrears and is due for renewal. To renew for 1 year mail address-plate with $3. Do it today.

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THE MAIL BAG

Israel and Asia

OAKLAND, CALIF.

I have read Ursula Wassermann's account of Israel and Asia with interest and note she correctly states from the outset that because of superior living conditions, Israel was deemed a threat to the feudal interests of Arab rulers.

Miss Wassermann seems to think Israel has been rejected by Asia because of her identification with the West. This is not in accordance with fact. Israel has established friendly relations with Burma and India with whom she is working cooperatively on problems of mutual interest. Both of these countries' representatives at the Bandung conference objected to the position of the Arab countries toward Israel. From all that has transpired, an objective conclusion can only decide that even if Israel were not identified with the U.S., the Arab feudal leaders would have maintained the same hostility toward a government which offered a better standard of living than that maintained in their own countries. This belligerent, unreasoning attitude of the Arab countries is quite transparent.

Ethel Cohen

Arms and Egypt

COLE, CALIF.

Ursula Wassermann's writing about the arms deal between Egypt and Czechoslovakia, fails to recognize the difference between cotton and heavy arms. I do not object to Czechoslovakia receiving cotton. I do object to a military dictatorship receiving heavy arms. Czechoslovakia's only motive must be to gain more influence in the Middle East. Certainly the Egyptian people were not considered because they will not benefit. The arms will be used by Nasser either to keep his own people down or in a war against Israel, because dictators don't like democracies on their border.

That the U.S. also offered to sell arms to Egypt does not make Czechoslovakia right. It makes the U.S. wrong.

Carl Minkus

"Apprehension and disgust"

JERSEY CITY, N. J.

Your articles on the plight of Israel in the Oct. 10 GUARDIAN, written by Kumar Goshal and Ursula Wassermann, filled me with apprehension and disgust. Mr. Goshal said, in so many words, that if Czechoslovakia was arming Egypt, then so were the United States and England Since when do two wrongs make a right? Miss Wassermann's article, which contains the seeds of political pragmatism, stated that Israel's predicament was self-imposed because she had remained outside the "Asian pale" (shades of Chauvin!). This article also implied that so long as Israel continued to play ball with the Western powers and antagonized certain other powers, then she could expect consequences (of which her treatment at Bandung was only a mild example) inimical to her well-being. Political blackmail to keep Israel in line?

Does the international game of power politics, with the pendulum of political expediency swinging first to the left and then to the right, or Business-As-Usual as practiced by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, warrant this course of mass genocide? We should ask ourselves what all this is doing to the cause of world peace.

Mary Engelberg

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The Guaranty Trust Company of New York puts it this way: ". . . In the final analysis, it is not the employer who hires labor and pays wages. It is the consumer. The employer is merely an agent, an intermediary. The ultimate demand for labor can come from only one source: the buyer of the product. It is he alone who determines what things shall be produced, and how much of each. To ask the employer to guarantee employment or wages is to hold him responsible for the behavior of consumers, over whom he has no control."

Quoted by Wm. Feather, editor, Kimble Assurance, publication of Kimble Glass Co., Oct., '55.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Anonymous.

Vote your sentiments

PORTLAND, ORE.

I have always taken an active part in politics from a school boy to the present day. I voted for Cleveland in 1892 and for all Democrats up to and including Bryan in 1908. I had taken an active part in organizing the old Farmers Union, but in 1908 Wall St. destroyed the union. I then decided that both old parties were controlled by Wall St. and voted for a real democrat, Debs. There never has been a time in all history when the people were as unanimous for peace as now, but both old parties are warmongers. Let's start to organize a new party to give the peace lovers a chance to vote their sentiments.

Yours for a better world.

H. H. Stallard

Short Snort

NEW YORK, N. Y.

If he runs the Veep'll
Be outrun by the People.

L. G.

Fun with Foster

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

J. Foster flits about the globe
On missions most mysterious,
And some of his communiques
Sound like the guy's delirious.
His policies, Khruschev quips,
Will win when Easter Sunday
On Tuesday falls, or whistling
shrimps
Shoot craps with Grandma Grundy.

A. H. R.

Ever been in jail?

SOMEWHERE, U. S. A.

It is an imposition on your time to have you read my darn-fool scribbling but it is almost imperative and hard to resist a desire to throw a great, fragrant bouquet at the wonderful, beautiful, intelligent editing of your, or should I say, our paper.

No need to remind me that my enthusiasm could find a more practical expression if the bouquet consisted of a solid brick of greenbacks instead of platitudes, but to our mutual regret this few dollars is the best for now.

While I'm at it, would you allow me to ask your correspondent M. (Oct. 3) who just can't get along without a symbol: Was he ever in jail? Does he know what it is like? I was; had nine years of it. Hard as I try to be charitable with a fellow GUARDIAN reader, the best I can say of his "contribution" is that it more properly belongs to the "How Crazy" dept.

Belfrage rotting in jail? His "physical" (what else?) slow annihilation—how does that compare with M.'s irresistable longing for symbolism.

Name withheld

Alarm for Joe

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

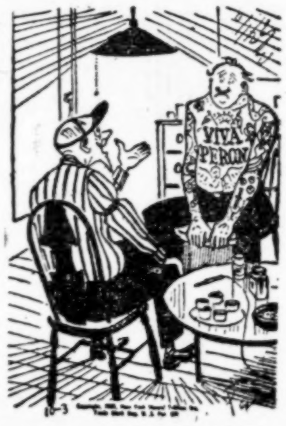
I see in Cedric's column where he tells of a tooth-paste poster on subway cars in Britain which says "Everyone is going red." This excited me.

That everyone is going red in Britain, and that it is so publicly proclaimed on a public poster on every subway car should be cause for great alarm to Uncle-Joe-must-go. They should now forthwith institute a program of remote control across Belfrage's Brownell-imposed Iron Curtain to right this condition, and alter it to "everyone is hollering for bread." Or Joe better go and crawl under his bed —where he will be safe from a red. It simply isn't so, there's a red under every bed.

If the fact that everyone is now going red is the result of Belfrage's recent arrival in Britain, Uncle Joe must be jumping up and down and tearing his hair—for after all it was he who sent him there.

Brownell was in possession of Chou's top brain-washing formula (used in the diet of American prisoners in China)—it's a pity he did not know how to reverse it while he was keeping Belfrage on a diet of beans—he might have tried feeding him greens, and thereby removed the red from his head.

Paul Oxley



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"It may come off, Señor, but it would be simpler to just always keep your shirt on."

Better half

PORTLAND, ORE.

I finally did it—gave a musicale, served coffee, snack and cake. A good time was had by all. Enclosed is half the proceeds. The other half goes to another worthy cause. Best of luck.

A. B.

Boosters

DETROIT, MICH.

Enclosed my "Buck of the Month" for October, 1955. The GUARDIAN has carried the best of the bad news from the "Jungles of Mississippi." I worked on six petitions as a national protest.

Elno Hiltunen

●

ALTADENA, CALIF.

Enclosed please find check for $30, the proceeds of a party we had for the GUARDIAN. It was a swim party and Southern California's famous warm September was cold enough to snow. (Don't tell the Chamber of Commerce.) We'll do better next time.

Betty Chesley

●

WORTHINGTON, O.

I haven't intended to slip in my support of the GUARDIAN. I am still fighting my Fifth Amendment case in the Ohio Supreme Court. Second argument was last Wednesday, October 5. I have to "import" my attorneys since local folks are still so scared. Am sending you $5 to bring me up to date. I can't give you a name of a subscriber as I am still in the doghouse and nobody wants me to give them anything. However, I expect to win this time, truly do, and then I will be free of all expenses and won't forget what I owe to the GUARDIAN and the Worker.

Anna H. Morgan

Grandmother Morgan and merchant Oscar Smilack were fined $3,200 and $900 respectively ($100 per count) in 1954 for invoking the 5th before the Ohio Un-American Activities Committee Both appealed. "I'm fighting mad!" said Grandma Morgan. Ed.

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Vol. 8, No. 2 178 OCTOBER 31, 1955

REPORT TO READERS

Debs Centennial

And there's Gene Debs—a man 'at stands
And jest holds out in his two hands
As warm a heart as ever beat
Betwixt here and the Jedgement Seat.

—James Whitcomb Riley

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, on Nov. 5, 1855, Eugene Victor Debs was born in Terre Haute, Ind. A centennial commemoration is planned for Nov. 28 at the Fraternal Clubhouse in New York. Between now and then we will have more to say about this pioneer leader in the struggle toward an America owned and run by its people and what remains today of that great effort.

In 1917-18 Eugene Debs (and thousands of other Americans) fought the involvement of the U.S. in World War I—and in so doing violated the Espionage Act of 1917 which made it a crime to speak against the war. Many, of whom Debs is today the best remembered, went to jail. In the speech for which he was arrested and eventually sentenced to ten years in jail, he said things like this:

> "I have no earthly use for the Junkers of Germany, and not one particle more use for the Junkers of the United States. . . ."

He hailed the Russian revolution (which has its 38th anniversary on Nov. 7) whose "very first act . . . was to proclaim a state of peace with all the world. . . . ." And he hurled a challenge:

> "When we vote together and act together on the industrial field, we will develop the supreme power of the one class that can bring permanent peace to the world. . . . The call is ringing in our ears!"

About to be sentenced for his acts he said:

> "Let the people take heart and hope everywhere, for the cross is bending, the midnight is passing, and joy cometh with the morning. . . ."

And finally, when the proclaimed liberal Justice Holmes delivered the Supreme Court opinion affirming his sentence, Debs retorted:

> "The decision is perfectly consistent with the character of the Supreme Court as a ruling class tribunal. . . . Great issues are not decided by the courts, but by the people."

Debs pointed out then (as Marcantonio so frequently did in later years) that 60 years earlier "the Supreme Court affirmed the validity of the Fugitive Slave Law to save chattel slavery. Five years later that infamous institution was swept from the land. . . ."

THE SUPREME COURT this year is faced with many challenges of repressive laws, some (the Sedition Laws of 27 states) dating back to Debs' years; others introduced in our time such as both the McCarran and Walter-McCarran laws.

Such laws of course would not be on the books in a society such as Eugene Debs fought to build, nor indeed if his efforts had brought forth the people's political instrument for which he strove.

So the fight against repression today goes on, waged by individuals and committees for the purpose. That it is occasionally a winning fight is a tribute to indomitable fighters. Such as, for example, two of the lawyers who fought to the last for Cedric Belfrage—Gloria Agrin and Blanch Freedman. This past week these lawyers won from the Supreme Court a decision which may result in cutting the first obnoxious hunk out of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Law—the practice of supervisory parole for deportation victims.

Ducking as usual the constitutional question involved, the Court nevertheless decided that the lower courts were wrong in rejecting the challenge to supervisory parole on the basis that there was no case involved of prosecution for violation of such parole. So the lower courts are now directed to hear argument on why foreign-born Americans subject to deportation should be subjected to rules requiring physical and mental examinations, denying them free association, and ordering them to report monthly or oftener to the Department of Immigration for interview on their activities.

If the lower courts reject the challenge on its merits, it will again go before the Supreme Court. But, as Debs noted three decades ago, it is the people, not the courts, who decide great issues. When the people press hard enough, then and only then will the Supreme Court find the Constitution constitutional.

—THE GUARDIAN

SIX MONTHS SINCE BANDUNG—I

Asia going neutral, breaks Western bonds

By Kumar Goshal

(First of two articles)

IN THE SIX MONTHS since last April's Bandung conference, significant changes have occurred in Asia and Africa:

- Colonial freedom movements have been strengthened by support from recently freed nations.
- United States propaganda has failed to spread fear of China and the U.S.S.R.
- Left-wing movements have become stronger and neutralist sentiment has increased—even among governments generally considered pro-U.S.—and some pro-U.S. governments had to cope with mounting internal dissension.
- Sentiment for economic as well as political freedom has increased, and U.S.-imposed barriers against trade with socialist countries have been breaking down.

COLD WASHINGTON: Washington, however, has continued to support the imperialist powers, in and out of the UN, and refused to come to terms with China. It has refused to admit that any people would vote for Communist candidates in a free election, despite evidence to the contrary. Washington remains preoccupied with building bases and military alliances fringing China and the Soviet union. Its economic policy still follows the colonial pattern.

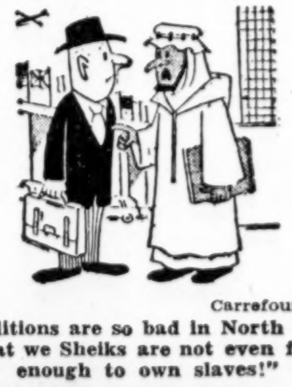
The Algerian question was put on the UN agenda, for example, because of the efforts of the Bandung nations. Voting against, U.S. delegate Lodge said Algeria had been conquered a long time ago and has been "administratively an integral part of France." To this India's Krishna Menon replied that

> ". . . conquest does not establish a right. . . . Conquest for the people conquered is at best a tragedy. [It] confers an obligation upon the people conquered, and that is to terminate that conquest. That is all it involves."

North African tinderbox

Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian freedom movements received unanimous support at Bandung, and continue to receive support at the UN. While Tunisian nationalists are still negotiating with France, the Faure government is trying to sidetrack the Moroccan independence movement by offering to Morocco the status of a "sovereign state dependent on France" (**N. Y. Times**, 9/11). A four-man regency council is now attempting to form an interim Moroccan government; but thus far the biggest party—the Istiqlal—has refused to take part.

The Faure government last week survived the Algerian vote in the Assembly, 308 to 254, with the Socialists and Communists in the opposition. The Faure victory came about because the conservatives wanted formal French representation at the Geneva foreign ministers conference and feared the return of Mendes-France. Indicating no basic change in his Algerian policy, Premier Faure has sent to Algeria as head of the armed forces Gen. Pierre Billote, known to be "a secret member of the directing committee of Presence Francaise" (**Newsweek**, 10/24), the French settlers' organization adamantly opposed to any concessions to the Algerians.

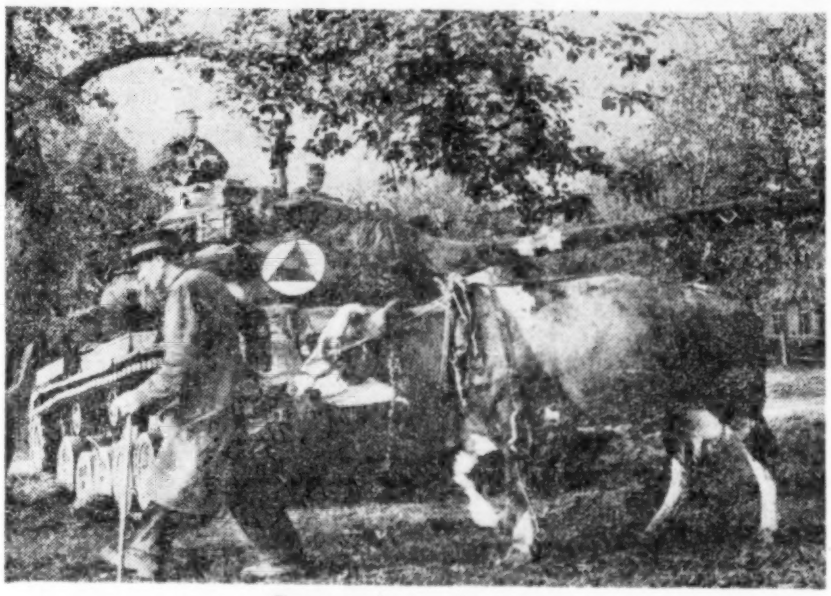


Carrefour, Paris

"Conditions are so bad in North Africa that we Sheiks are not even free enough to own slaves!"

SHOW OF STRENGTH: Barrett McGurn reported (**N. Y. Herald Tribune**, 10/18) that "some of the best-informed French" had warned that, if Faure fails to absorb Algeria into France,

> ". . . there is much more chance of an anti-native S. African type of Algerian republic than there is of a Moslem Middle Eastern sort. . . . The one million 'European French' would kill one or two million of the ill-armed natives and would use the rest as slaves."



Be courteous to cows

NATO troops on maneuvers near Stuttgart, Germany, have orders to behave themselves and not be beastly to the inhabitants. Here a tank yields right of way to a cow which, if it remembers the war, knows that to err is human, to forgive, bovine.

Robert Allen reported (**N. Y. Post**, 10/18) that Faure was "getting a lot more than diplomatic aid from the U. S." in his repressive N. African policies. Allen said that recently planes from the U. S. carrier Lake Champlain staged a "show of strength" over Morocco's Port Lyautey and that Washington has granted Faure "unlimited use of U. S. weapons [against] N. African rebels." The reason, according to Allen, is that

> ". . . it is deemed imperative to preserve French military effectiveness in this area of highest strategic importance to NATO."

Unity in Malaya

Neither in N. Africa nor in Asia, however, have Washington and its allies been abl to split the independence movements with the red bogey.

In Malaya, for example, Tengku Abdul Rahman and David Marshall, recently elected Chief Ministers, respectively, of the Malayan Fedn. and Singapore (governed as a separate unit), are about to confer with Malayan guerrrilla leader and CP secy. Chin Peng. The parties of both ministers came to power in the recent limited-franchise elections by advocating peace with the guerrilla liberation fighters and freedom for Malaya in four years. They have already offered amnesty to the guerrillas. The 33-year old Chin Peng has asked for a legal status for the CP. The N. Y. **World-Telegram** (10/20) said:

> "Chin will come out of the jungle as something of a hero. [He will] negotiate from strength rather than weakness."

Burmese Premier U Nu is now in Moscow. Leaders of Pakistan and Egypt will be going to China soon. This year 267 Japanese (including 42 Democratic, Liberal and Socialist MP's) have visited China.

Stirrings in Japan

In Japan itself, powerful opposition has developed against the attempt to turn Japan into a U. S. military base.

Washington's policy in Japan was spelled out in a **Worldwide Press Service** report (9/17) that

> ". . . despite official denials, there is good reason to believe that Foreign Minister Shigemitsu pledged eventual Japanese troop deployments overseas during his recent Washington trip. . . . The biggest concession would be a Japanese promise to use some of its rebuilt military power to strengthen the Washington-sponsored SEATO."

Last month, vigorous local campaigns by farmers and trade unions against expansion of U. S. bases in Japan were co-ordinated on a national basis. On Sept. 16, 200 representatives from communities adjoining 30 principal U. S. bases gathered in Tokyo and adopted a resolution to pool their "opposition to the government's acquisition of land for military purposes" (**NYT**, 9/17).

SOCIALISTS UNITE: The most significant move against U. S. policy came on Oct. 14, when the hitherto divided left- and right-wing Socialists merged on the basis of a platform calling for nationalization of key industries; neutralism in the cold war; an immediate peace treaty with Moscow; reduction of military forces to what is necessary for internal order; unrestricted trade with China, and a Far East non-aggression pact binding Japan, the U. S., the U. S. S. R. and China.

The merger gave the Socialist Party the largest cohesive group in parliament, with 225 seats to 209 for the ruling Democrats and 207 for the dissident Liberals (conservatives). A **N. Y. Times** editorial (10/16), admitting that it would be "out of place" to comment on Japanese domestic politics, said:

> "Nevertheless, in this case the U. S. cannot help but be concerned, since the relation of Japan to the U. S. is at stake in the major party division in Japan. . . . The newly united Socialists have made it plain that they seek closer ties with the Communist world."

. . . and elsewhere

Recently other states have taken actions unpalatable to Washington:

- In Cambodia, Premier Prince Sihanouk, who veered to a neutralist position at Bandung, has severed all connections with the French Union.
- The pro-U. S. ruler of Laos—another former Indo-China state now associated with the French Union—has signed a truce with the dissident Pathet Lao forces that fought with the Vietminh against France.
- Pakistan's new Premier spoke of a "spirit of friendship" with Moscow, reversing former Premier Mohammed Ali's "arms length attitude" towards the Soviet Union (**NYT**, 9/30).
- Egypt has signed a pact with Syria (Lebanon is expected shortly to join them) "as an answer both to Iraq's adherence" to the Middle East pact and to criticism of the Egypt-Czechoslovakia arms deal (**NYT**, 10/21).
- Iraq was reported unhappy over joining the U. S.-sponsored Middle East pact.

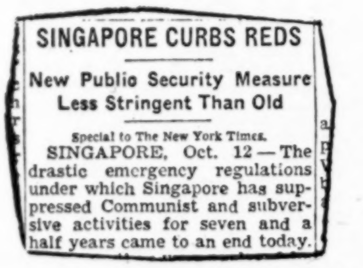
The Indonesian elections have already shown popular support for both the CP and the widespread neutralist sentiment. The CP received a million votes more than the five million it expected. The nearly 15 million votes cast for the Nationalist and Orthodox Moslem parties also represented endorsement of their policies of neutrality in the cold war and co-existence with both the socialist and capitalist worlds. This was against the 7½ million Masjumi (Moslem) party votes representing support for a pro-U. S. policy.

How UN works

INDIVIDUALS or groups concerned with learning about "The United Nations and How it Works" may find useful a new model-making teaching aid by this title.

One of a project series known as "Class Workit," the kit has been produced by the United Nations Dept. of Public Information and published by Education Research. It includes materials that, folded and assembled, produce a three-dimensional model of the UN buildings and a large world map. Three-sided panel structures encircling the project show pictorially how the world organization works and what it does.

The kit is available for $1 at the UN Bookshop, UN headquarters in New York City, or from Education Research, 1625 Eye St. N. W., Washington, D. C.



SINGAPORE CURBS REDS

New Publio Security Measure Less Stringent Than Old

Special to The New York Times.

SINGAPORE, Oct. 12—The drastic emergency regulations under which Singapore has suppressed Communist and subversive activities for seven and a half years came to an end today.

N. Y. Times

MORAL: ALWAYS READ PAST THE HEADLINE

3 Polish prizes in the arts

POLAND, celebrating two landmarks of its cultural history, is offering in conjunction with them three sets of prizes in artistic competition. Two of the contests are for residents of the U. S., the third is international in scope.

This year will mark the hundredth anniversary of the death of Adam Mickiewicz, Poland's national poet celebrated for his "ideals of international friendship." U. S. artists and art students are invited to submit illustrations for any of the 25 shorter poems now in English translation; five prizes offered total $4,000 with the top one at $1,500. The other competition open to U. S. writers is for the best English translation of untranslated parts of Mickiewicz's great epic masterpiece, **Pan Tadeusz.** Deadlines for both these contests is Dc. 31, 1955.

The world-wide competition is for the best original violin work with piano accompaniment in connection with the Third Henryk Wieniawski Intl. Violin Competition to be held in Warsaw in December, 1957. Deadline is March 31, 1956.

Full details for all three comptitions can be obtained from the Polish Embassy, 2640 Sixteenth St. NW, Washington, D. C.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE'S FOOTBALL DISPATCH FROM BULGARIA

The band played 'God Save the Queen' and the British team lost

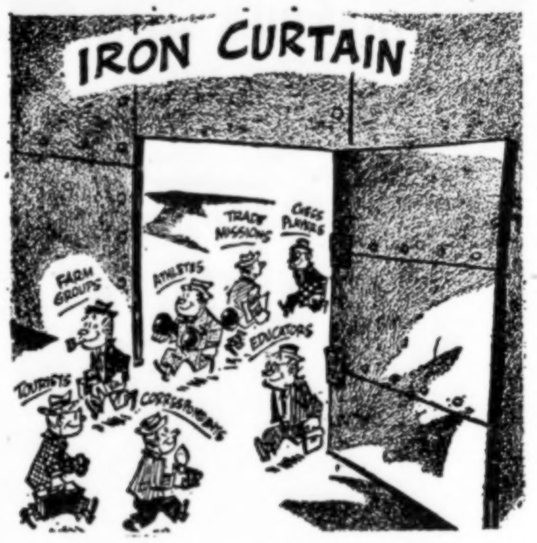
By Cedric Belfrage

SOFIA, BULGARIA

NEVER UNDERESTIMATE the power of a football. This simple leather device for the relaxation of tensions brought some 50,000 citizens of the Bulgarian People's Democracy together here Oct. 23 to stand at attention for "God Save the Queen" and listen to a speech by John Bowers of Britain's Olympic Games Committee on International Understanding.

The British Olympic team and the visiting tsars of British football, headed by Sir Stanley Rowse, heard a similar speech by Bowers' opposite number, General Stoichev, the Bulgarian hero who led an army of 100,000 against the common Nazi enemy 11 years ago. They then joined in a deafening ovation to Bulgarian Premier Chervenkov; boy and girl Pioneers ran out to both teams with bouquets of flowers.

TWO TO NOTHING: The game then ensued, giving the Bulgars two goals to Britain's none, but leaving the tensions at zero on both sides. Since Friday, when the British flew in, all of Sofia has been out on the streets, milling around the Bulgaria Hotel for a sight of the friendly Western footballers who were to give battle to the home team. From Bulgaria's 7,000,000 population came 500,000 orders for seats. The precious ducats were allocated to factories and farms and organizations all over the country and lucky recipients poured into Sofia in busloads and special trains from far and near.



Brimrose in Portland Oregonian

"How times have changed."

The excitement was so great that for five-leva tickets, 100 levas were offered Thursday, 150 on Friday and Saturday. By Sunday, 500 levas were offered, with few takers, but some trading of tickets for pigs and honey was reported Sunday morning.

THE ABBOT DID IT: In Sofia, the British visitors circulated like queen bees amid the swarm of Bulgars who made imploring gestures for tickets which no longer existed. The Bulgars themselves formed an exceptionally orderly crowd, but most of the army and police—who had football-itis too—discovered weighty reasons why they must be on hand to keep order. I saw one group of police trying to haul away a deadhead, but the tug-of-war ended with the cops being drawn into the human sea behind the stands, instead of the deadhead himself being drawn in.

Among the vast crowd pouring from the stadium and back into Sofia, I heard three theories on why the British lost: (1) That the abbot of Bulgaria's largest monastery had come to see the game with a delegation of monks, all asking God for a Bulgarian victory, whereas the British brought no priest or chaplain; (2) that the British concentrated too much on team play while the Bulgars showed more individual initiative; and (3) it was more seriously admitted that while Olympic rules make amateur status mandatory, the British are more genuinely amateurs than the Socialist country teams. The best British footballers are paid professionals, but in the Socialist countries professionals in just that sense do not exist.

The Bulgarians' joy in victory is mitigated by the realization that their team did not meet the best Britain has. Meanwhile they are already laying bets in pigs, honey and levas for the return match to be held shortly in London.

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

wrote James Reston (N. Y. **Times**, 10/23). But it is now time to call a halt, he suggested, since "the proposal is full of holes" and U. S. UN representatives are "saying things about that plan that mislead nobody but the American people."

WASHINGTON'S TACTIC: U. S. officials emphasize—outside UN—that even if the U. S. S. R. should accept the plan, the U. S. would not then go ahead to disarmament since it relies on "crushing force" (Air Force Secy. Quarles). Yet, inside the UN, U. S. representatives piously profess the U. S.'s passionate concern to disarm whenever the U. S. S. R. questions what will follow acceptance of the plan. They attempt to blame the U. S. S. R. for lack of progress in the Disarmament Subcommittee (meeting since Aug. 29 under directives of the Geneva Big Four).

The socialist countries, the Bandung nations, and others like Sweden, have sought Assembly debate on disarmament before the foreign ministers talks. The U. S. S. R. called for a meeting of the full Disarmament Commission to discuss promptly and pass on to the Assembly the subcommittee report. The Commission meeting on Oct. 21 disclosed how much the Western powers feared a public airing of this question. Pretexts offered for smothering the Soviet demand were: (1) that there had been no time for study of the report issued only that morning; (2) that parallel discussions at UN and Geneva would be "confusing."

The Last Waltz

Lt. Gen. William H. Arnold, former commanding officer of U. S. forces in Austria, weeps at his train window as he leaves Salzburg, winding up the occupation. Austrians bore the parting better.

APPEAL TO WORLD: Privately, UN diplomats admitted that the report could have been issued earlier "if the key Western powers had permitted it." The U.S.S.R.'s Sobolev pointed out that Assembly discussion could only assist the Big Four which, after all, had no monopoly on this question. The decision to delay discussion till after Geneva means it will come at the tail end of the UN session, if at all.

Sobolev's careful presentation—showing how close Soviet and Western positions had come as a result of the Soviet May 10 concessions, and how realistic could be the prospects of disarmament if the West would abide by previously-reached agreements—appealed over the heads of the Commission to world public opinion. The hard stand taken by Washington's allies showed

> ". . . the U. S. has won agreement from its allies to go into the Geneva Conference with this stiff bargaining position . . . [but they are] uneasy lest it be politically damaging to them domestically" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 10/21).

BULGANIN'S LETTERS: Washington's allies hold privately, as does the U.S.S.R. publicly, that the President's plan must be part of a comprehensive disarmament plan. But Canada went so far as to charge that this Soviet stand was "very disturbing" and suggested that the U.S.S.R. is trying to block disarmament. To this, Sobolev dryly pointed out that the subcommittee is operating under a unanimously-adopted Assembly resolution assigning it the task of working out a "comprehensive disarmament plan" embracing conventional and nuclear weapons and forces.

Soviet Premier Bulganin's two letters to Eisenhower also tried to get the question out into the open. But at UN the President's answer to the first letter was regarded as anything but conciliatory. The **New Republic** (10/24) pointed out that "Bulganin raised the basic question. . . . Where do you Americans stand on arms reduction? And the President has given no answer." It added that, unless the U.S. could explain publicly its refusal to give up nuclear weapons, "it is we not the Russians who appear to be jeopardizing the rest of the world."

ATOMS FOR PEACE: The U.S. attempt to divorce its projected international atoms-for-peace agency from the UN, and to give industrially-advanced "have" nations a privileged position within it, has aroused widespread opposition and resentment among Asian, African and Latin American countries. UN observers hold that the U.S. has been saved only by the U.S.S.R. from what the **New Republic** (10/24) called "a public drubbing as humiliating as that on the elections to the Security Council."

The U.S.S.R. has spearheaded a drive to reach unanimous agreement on a statute for the agency. Limited concessions all around are likely to produce such agreement, however imprecise. Behind this stand lies the fact that all countries recognize they are entering an uncharted future in this field and none knows how or into what the agency will develop. Therefore, none wants to take a stand which would give the Western sponsoring powers the pretext for excluding them.

SECURITY COUNCIL: In its efforts to elect the Philippines to the seat originally sought by Poland, and now by Yugoslavia, the U.S. has isolated itself completely from its major allies. And the Assembly has witnessed the unusual spectacle of open opposition to the U.S. expressed by Western Europe, Britain and most of the Commonwealth. In a second session, and through nine ballots, the U. S. candidate has still failed of the necessary two-thirds. This, even though, as one delegate told the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (10/20), arm twisting has been such "that cries of pain could be heard from behind every palm tree."

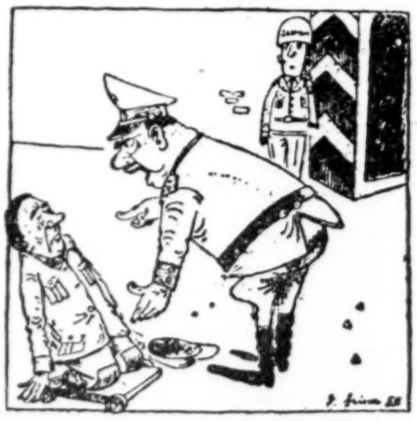
A. U.S. maneuver to postpone Security Council elections but proceed with those to the Economic & Social Trusteeship Councils was successful. The maneuver was designed to elect Yugoslavia and Greece to the E & S Council, thus lessening their chances for the Security Council. But this success was won only by violating the rules of procedure (which require a two-thirds vote on such a question) and by the smallest of margins. If the U.S. finally wins this contest, UN opinion is that its victory will be pyhrric.

LAST CHANCE? If Washington had learned any lesson from its declining prestige and influence in UN, it gave no sign. The accent of its pre-Geneva propaganda was Western "unity" and "strength" on the German question. But the **NYT** (10/23) pointed out that everyone knows Geneva will be the West's "last chance" to put over its German policy.

In fact, there is no longer any such chance, even at this conference. The U.S.S.R. will not, as it has said repeatedly, make concessions on Germany. This means a long-term partition, with time and history running against Western policy.

Soviet concessions are likely on disarmament. The Alsops (10/24) reported the British are apprehensive "that the Soviet may call our bluff" and accept in principle the Eisenhower plan. Such a concession, they said, would produce "embarrassment . . . not easy to conceal."

THE SAAR VOTE: Already undermined by the establishment of Bonn-Moscow diplomatic relations, the U.S.'s European policy will be further corroded by the results of the Saar referendum. The European Statute for the Saar—rejected by a 2 to 1 vote—was one cornerstone of the Paris agreements to rearm W. Germany in NATO. Its rejection is a step toward liquidation of these agreements. Opposition to the Statute ran from the Communist on the left to the neo-Nazis on the right. Rejection will be widely interpreted as a vote for reunion with W. Germany. -**(See Saar story, p. 8.)**



Daz, Berlin

"Keep away from this recruiting post."

Opposing such reunion is a weakening France which may be trying to shore up its position in the Saar by offering to sell U. S. capitalists shares in some of the steel mills (**Journal of Commerce**, 10/21). France, however, must become increasingly fearful of the fires of revenge lighted by German nationalism in the Saar, as they were lighted once before—in the 1935 plebiscite which joined the Saar to Hitler's Reich.

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Clear explanation

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I always read the articles of Tabitha Petran with interest and pleasure for her understanding and clear way of explaining to the reader her theme. **A. Dornblatt**

NO PLANS TO QUIT MISSISSIPPI

Dr. Howard asks to see Brownell; tells of daily threats of death

By Eugene Gordon

DR. Theodore Roosevelt Howard returned to his Mound Bayou, Miss., home Oct. 21, after conferring with the NAACP in New York on Mississippi's anti-Negro terror. Mound Mayou is a short auto ride from the Sumner court house where white half-brothers Roy Bryant and J. W. Milam on Sept. 23 were found not guilty of murdering 14-year-old Emmett Louis Till allegedly for whistling at Bryant's wife. Dr. Howard, pres.-elect of the (Negro) Natl. Medical Assn., president of Mississippi's Regional Council of Negro Leadership, and head of the local NAACP, is the physican who, with the aid of Negro reporters, rounded up witnesses for the prosecution (GUARDIAN, 10/17).

Dr. Howard while in New York wired Atty. Gen. Brownell:

> "Because of the supreme seriousness of the wave of terror, economic pressure and violence which threatens the Negro people of Mississippi, my state, where I, along with 986,000 other members of my race, would like to enjoy the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which are denied to us; where race tension is mounting hourly; where events are taking place which are threatening our whole foreign policy, I urgently request an audience with you, Vice Pres. Nixon, and the Hon. Sherman Adams at the earliest possible date, to formulate plans to deal effectively with the dastardly dangerous situation confronting every Negro in Mississippi today. A delegation of Negro leaders from my state and over the nation stands ready to join me in this conference with you."

DAILY THREATS: In a brief phone interview with the GUARDIAN, Dr. Howard said he was returning to New York Nov. 10 enroute to speak in Atlantic City, beginning of a nationwide tour. Plans are under way for a giant N.Y.C. mass meeting, probably in Madison Square Garden, early in December. Asked how safe he and Mrs. Howard are likely to be on their return to Mound Bayou, the physician said "no day passes" that they do not get a threat of death.

"But the worst thing that could happen to us," he said, "is that we'll be killed, and that doesn't worry us too much."

"Do you intend to remain in Mississippi?"

"I have no plans of moving out."

He said the cotton which Emmett Till's uncle, Moses Wright, had to leave unpicked when he fled attempts to murder him, would probably be claimed by the landowner, as is customary in such cases. Mr. Wright, a sharecropper, had spoken hopefully of garnering $1,000 worth of cotton as his share. He is now in Chicago with his wife and sons.

Dr. Howard said:

> "The race haters of Mississippi fear only one organization in the United States, and that is the NAACP. In the so-called trial, you know, the NAACP turned over all its evidence to the prosecution—which seemed angry in getting it."

DEEP PLOT: Meanwhile, Sens. James O. Eastland and John Stennis, among other Mississippi "race haters"—including reporters, columnists and editorial writers for the Jackson **Daily News** and Natchez **Democrat**—intensified efforts to discredit the Negro people's most effective organization. The Senators, according to the Chicago **Defender** (10/22), helped reporters "force the Army to release the information [showing 'the slain boy's father did not die a hero's death']" which could influence the grand jury's weighing kidnapping charges against Bryant and Milam.

The **Daily News** and the **Democrat** see the NAACP slogan "Free by '63" as causing "racial strife" and "internationalism through a classless society in which every national and racial distinction is removed." Georgia's Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook on Oct. 19 embodied this idea in his address to the Peace Officers Assn. of Georgia convention:

> "Through its activities, the NAACP is fomenting strife and discord between the white and the Negro races in the South, [and these activities], carried to their ultimate conclusion, can only result in conflict, bloodshed and internal revolution, delivering the nation into the hands of international Communism."

Never taking its eye from what it calls its "Target for 1963," the association replied:

> "Mr. Cook labors mightily to tie the Communist party program to the NAACP. We began our labors in 1909, long before the Communist party appeared on the American scene. The Russian revolution did not occur until 1917. In the NAACP third annual report in 1913 is the statement:
>
> "'We intend to push vigorously the fight against segregation in all its forms.' We stand today on that same general platform and work for the same objective. There is not now, nor has there ever been, a monopoly on man's struggle for justice, equality and freedom. It has been a part of every civilization the world has known. Men of every tongue, color, political belief and religion have fought injustice. . . ."

Ullman brief filed

IF THE FOUNDING FATHERS had wanted the Fifth Amendment to mean less than it does, they would have said so, it was argued in a brief filed with the Supreme Court last week. Osmond K. Fraenkel, exec. vice-president of the Natl. Lawyers Guild, prepared the friend-of-the-court brief in the case of William L. Ullmann, first person to be convicted for contempt under the Immunity Act of 1954. The Guild argues that the law is unconstitutional because Congress may not make a law compelling testimony from a witness upon the promise of immunity or any other grounds. Said the brief:

> "The authors of the Bill of Rights were painstaking writers, and where they intended exceptions and provisos to be engrafted, they were careful to add them."

The brief also points out that the history of the Fifth Amendment is as a shield against persecution for political or religious heresy, and that the authors did not intend it to be qualified:

> "For they were not primarily concerned with procedural safeguards for those suspected of involvement in ordinary crime. . . . Unless the heretic can be forced to confess (or his brother dissenter to inform upon him) his 'crime' may well go undiscovered and unpunished. The Fifth Amendment, by forbidding compulsory testimony would, they thought, make it impossible to convict anyone for his religious or political beliefs and associations."

Ullmann is one of the many persons named by Elizabeth Bentley, self-confessed "spy-queen" and a government informer.

Inside Greece today

(Continued from Page 1)

the public that Papagos' health was improving rapidly. The reason for these comic-opera bulletins was that the opposition parties were calling for an immediate election on the ground that Papagos was no longer running the government. An election today—instead of in 1956—would hasten the defeat of the ruling Greek Rally, a right-wing coalition.

The health bulletins having no healing effect, Papagos finally died. His Minister of Defense Karamanlis was named Premier and the present alignment was held together with a little glue plus sticky editorials in the American press. The N. Y. **Times** rejoiced that Greece was not going to return to political chaos (i.e., independence) and boldly reported the U. S. government's hostility to an election now.

WANT ELECTION NOW: The fear of an election stems from the experience of the municipal voting in November, 1954. Cooperation among three parties including the progressive Union of Left-Wing Democrats (EDA)—resulted in a sweeping victory of the candidates they supported for mayor in such places as Athens, Volos, Pireaeas and Solonika.

These parties agree that the government should be dismissed, and that there should be general elections, with voting by proportional representation instead of the present majority method that helps the right. They also agree on a general amnesty for political prisoners and exiles and the legalization of the CP.

While the other major parties opposing the government are less militant, they agree in varying degrees with some of the above points. Thus there is every probability that the next general election will bring a new alignment through which some basic changes can be forced—unless something happens in the meantime. One possibility would be a military coup before the election.

COUP THAT FAILED: Such a coup was attempted last August. Much was written about it in the Greek press, but not in the U. S. Gen. Gikas, Chief of Staff, gave out reports that the Russians were massing troops in Bulgaria. This provided an excuse for reshuffling the Greek army and for faking a national emergency.

There was an outcry from the opposition parties. The Gikas reports were exposed as a hoax and the attempt failed. It was also reported that King Paul had helped to squelch the military. There may be surprise over the king's role in protecting the constitution, but Paul stood to gain nothing at this point by a military dictatorship. In fact, he himself would become a pawn of the military.

A HUNDRED THOUSAND ATHENIANS CALL FOR A FREE CYPRUS
This was a general view of Constitution Square in August

It is on this score that a split is said to have developed between the U. S. Military Mission and the State Dept., the Greek press reported. The Mission looks with favor on the possibility of a Guatemala-type coup. The State Dept. finds this distasteful in the reality of Geneva: such a development might bring severe international repercussions.

GENEVA PERVADES: The State Dept. already has its hands full with the Cyprus issue. Greece is united on the demand for Cyprus self-determination. The Department has already got itself into a box by opposing Greek demands that the issue be aired in the UN, while Greece is balking at joining the military alliance with Turkey—which is being egged on by Britain against Greece on the Cyprus issue.

Meanwhile, the Geneva spirit has permeated Greece too. Recently a Hungarian track team was invited to Athens by Greek athletes, and the stadium was packed for the meet. The cheers for the Hungarian athletes were surpassed only by the cheers for athletes from Cyprus.

And those who call for a general amnesty and a legal CP are finding new support for the argument that repression in Greece does not accord with the lessening of international tension.

Already the new government has been issuing apprehensive warnings, reminiscent of the Papagos health bulletins. It says that, despite Geneva, "internal vigilance" must not be relaxed. Which means that the "vigilance" will eventually have to be relaxed.

NEXT WEEK: A Nation of Poverty.

THE FIRST OF A SERIES ON PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Adlai Stevenson: The man and the forces behind the man

By Elmer Bendiner

THE BROWN HIGH SCHOOL BAND, complete with high-stepping drum-majorettes, drew up at the Atlanta, Ga., municipal airport on Nov. 24, 1953, and blared: "Are You From Dixie?"

Adlai Ewing Stevenson stepped out of the plane and squarely faced up to that question. At a press conference in the Henry Grady Hotel a Negro reporter asked him whether he thought segregation wasn't lending strength to communist criticism of the U. S. abroad. The Atlanta **Constitution** said:

> "Stevenson replied that it is poor grace for the people of India to criticize the U. S. when India's caste system is the worst segregation system in the world. The loyalty of the American Negro is the finest argument against communism, Stevenson asserted."

DIG THAT DOWNBEAT: The U. S. Supreme Court was then considering school desegregation and Georgia's Gov. Herman Talmadge had just made the headlines with his proposal to wipe out the public school system altogether rather than end jimcrow. Stevenson stayed at the Governor's mansion, and managed to avoid any reference to desegregation. He applauded the South for its progress on the "social-question" and the Negroes for being "overwhelmingly anti-communist."

Stevenson's performance moved Georgia's Democratic State Chairman James S. Peters to call him "a great liberal Democrat who apparently understands the Southern problem." The **Constitution** glowingly reported:

> "Georgia, with its band playing, its flags flying and thousands of its citizens cheering, swept the head of the Democratic Party to its state heart."

The headline was:

ADLAI SEES PARTY UNITY
ON CIVIL RIGHTS PAVING
ROAD TO VICTORY IN '56

A newspaper cartoon depicted Stevenson leading a band in which a Southern "gentleman" with goatee, broad-brimmed hat and cheroot beat a drum and said: "Beat it out, Sir. Y'got the downbeat, now."

NOT NEW FOR ADLAI: Stevenson cultivated that downbeat throughout the South. It was no casual flirtation. Democratic Party Chairman Stephen Mitchell, preceding Stevenson, told a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Atlanta that the party was being rebuilt "on the solid foundation of the Democratic South." Advance runners stressed Stevenson's Kentucky ancestry and with a wink called him a "reasonable man"—by which, it was clearly understood they meant a man with a long, patient, gradualist view of jimcrow.

It was not a new role for Stevenson. During the 1952 campaign, while he took the cheers of liberal Northern groups, Stevenson in stumping Virginia called the Reconstruction period "the black years," hailed the "valuable heritage of the Old South" and the glories of the Confederate Constitution. When the tallies were in that year Stevenson did not win an electoral majority of a single state outside the South. Moreover, his Northern liberal talk had lost him five Southern and border states. It was plain that Stevenson would not again risk his loyal Southern strongholds. His relations with Harry S. Truman, who had reportedly antagonized some Southerners, cooled swiftly.

Einstein on Adlai

. . . On the other hand he staggered me by saying that Adlai Stevenson would be dangerous in foreign politics; but it seemed that here his mind was fixed on the disaster of Wilson. He shuddered at the thought of Wilson of Princeton. What a calamity it was that Clemenceau had to give way to that dangerous man!

From "A Memory of Einstein," by V. S. Pritchett, in the **New Statesman & Nation**, 4/23/55.

NEW SOLIDITY: The wooing of the South has now paid off. In Point Clear, Ala., last week the conference of Southern governors made it clear there would be no bolting next year, no Dixiecrat movement. The South would be solid again—and in command of the Democratic Party. The party's Congressional policy is already firmly in the hands of Southern politicians who occupy all the key committee posts. It is not likely that the party's candidate will be allowed to stray from the old plantation.

STEVENSON WITH GEORGIA'S GOV. TALMADGE IN 1953
The band played "Dixie" and rebel whoops resounded

Robert C. Albright in the Washington **Post** (5/29) quoted a "liberal Democrat":

> "The Democratic Party is being made over perceptibly into the image of Sen. George."

As the party's most ardent wooer of the South, Stevenson may enter the convention very like a favorite son of the South. Already Govs. Wetherby (Ky.), Clement (Tenn.), Collins (Fla.) and Griffin (Ga.) have come out for him. The only outspokenly dissenting governors are Kennan (La.) and Shivers (Tex.) who finds it hard to give up hope for Eisenhower. Folsom of Alabama said only: "I'm for Truman," which might indicate no more than a reluctance to jump at the first calliope call of the Stevenson bandwagon. Gary of Oklahoma said he would take either Stevenson or Harriman.

THREE-HORNED DILEMMA: The political headquarters of the South is currently in Texas, at the LBJ ranch of Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, who is apparently out of the running himself because of a heart attack, but nevertheless is masterminding Southern strategy. Adlai Stevenson was making his pilgrimage to the LBJ when President Eisenhower was stricken. Shortly afterward Johnson and House Speaker Rayburn reportedly gave him the nod.

Stevenson's dilemma is that he must keep the Southern bosses happy, prove his "regularity" to the machine in his home state of Illinois and still sound like a liberal for the benefit of labor and independents. It isn't easy because what endears him to the South is what might alienate him from the North.

Max K. Gilstrap in the **Christian Science Monitor** (10/13) reported that Stevenson advisers

> ". . . believe that the Democrats . . . will wish to nominate to the right of the party's more ardent liberals. In their thinking, Mr. Stevenson, who, they say, never has been a thoroughgoing Truman Fair Dealer, is the answer to what the country wants."

DRIVING OUT THE DEVIL: Stevenson is at home right of center. He has always reserved his hottest fire for the Left. In Albuquerque, N. M., during the 1952 campaign, Stevenson assailed communism with the frenzy of a high priest denouncing sin:

> "So I would say to any Americans who cling to illusions about communism and its false Utopia: wake up to the fact that you are in an allegiance with the devil and you must act soon if you hope to save your souls."

He boasted:

> "We have prosecuted the Communist leadership. Where the law has been violated the Justice Dept. has indicted and convicted the criminals. In all this effort we have had the faith and resourceful work and the national protection of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. . . ."

He enthusiastically supported the Korean War at a time when Eisenhower was vowing to end it, writing in the **Foreign Affairs Quarterly Review:**

> "There is of course, no tidy solution to the Korean problems, precisely because it is only a part of the whole Soviet imperialist drive—an episode really in the sweep of history which relentlessly confronts freedom with thralldom."

When the Soviet Union was pressing a reluctant Washington to end the Cold War, Stevenson objected violently:

> "One can take almost any of the Marxist slogans and substitute the word 'peace' for the word 'revolution.' In Soviet double-talk they mean the same."

SHOCKED BY IKE: On Taft-Hartley Stevenson pussy-footed; he called at first only for amendments and in the end for repeal, to be replaced by a law that would be neither T-H nor the Wagner Act. Similarly, he came out for an FEPC at the end of the campaign, an act which helped turn part of the South against him. He has indicated he will not try that gambit again. The 1956 Stevenson is not likely to advertise such accessories but concentrate on the Solid Southern body.

The toned-down Stevenson resembles a more literate but more timid Eisenhower. He plumped hard for negotiations with the Russians after Eisenhower had already begun negotiating. He greeted the "Geneva Spirit" with a wan smile, urging the nation to be "wary" (a line echoed last week by his supporter Sen. Lehman). Shocked at Eisenhower's fraternizing with Marshall Zhukov, Stevenson said:

> "I, for one, had never expected to hear the President of the U. S. plead to a third-string Communist that the United States wants peace."

SECOND GUESSING: In these early rounds in the fight for the nomination his political footwork seems to be worrying his handlers. Republican farm policy has left the farmers in a dangerous slump, angry, ready to listen to any politician who can stand firmly for high, rigid price supports that will guarantee a stable income. At Milwaukee and at Green Bay, Wis., earlier this month Stevenson muffed the ball by reverting to his 1952 position that high price supports were "not necessarily the permanent or the only answer." His farm-state lieutenants threw up their hands in horror. His rival, Gov. Averell Harriman of New York, was expected at a Democratic Midwest conference at Des Moines, Iowa, on Oct. 22. In a quick cover-up Stevenson dispatched a telegram on Oct. 21 to Des Moines asserting he was really in favor of high price props. Harriman came out for the high props without second thoughts and most observers credited him with that round, despite Stevenson's sneak punch.

What labor will get out of Stevenson seems to depend on how high Harriman and perhaps other rivals are willing to bid for union support. In general the Democrats feel there is little point in making commitments to people who have no place else to go, and don't seem to be looking.

Stevenson's conservative look comes naturally. His origins lie in money and in milk. He was a director of the Chicago Natl. Bank and married into the Borden milk millions. Before entering public service he worked contentedly as asst. managing editor of the Republican Bloomington **Daily Pantagraph**. In his first Washington tour of duty he served as assistant to two Republicans: Agricultural Adjustment Administrator George Peek and Navy Secy. Frank Knox.

THE ARVEY MACHINE: Stevenson likes to claim his "amateur" status as a politician, but two years after he took office as Governor of Illinois, he said:

> "Although I have not altered my views about the waste and inefficiency of patronage systems I understand better than ever before their relationship to the continuous operation of our indispensable two-party system."

Illinois Democratic boss Jake Arvey masterminded Stevenson's nomination in 1952 and last week was reportedly in his corner again. Stevenson was ready to ditch the "station-wagon set" of liberals for the more dependable "regulars" next year. In his home state Stevenson indulges in flaming promises and a gradualist approach to delivering on them. He campaigned for FEPC as a candidate but never quite got it passed as Governor. His hankering for the South was evident during his governorship when his friendship with Byrnes of South Carolina bloomed.

He did Byrnes a good turn in those years by joining with him in the fight for the right of any state to publicize its relief rolls. Pointing to Illinois achievements in trimming public assistance, Stevenson said:

> "We found some surprising things by chasing deserting husbands and looking under the bed."

WHAT FLAVOR? It is hard to put one's finger on Stevenson's appeal, although one knows it exists since he is currently leading the polls of Democratic hopefuls. Columnist Joseph Alsop analyzed it by comparing the voters to kids in an ice cream parlor:

> "They know they want one kind of candidate rather than another, generally without being able to specify precisely why . . . what the voters want for 1956 is a moderate flavored candidate with serious overtones. Stevenson is just that sort of a candidate. He is more solid than Kefauver. He is more moderate than Harriman. In a time, in short, when the electorate seems to want vanilla, Stevenson looks like being vanilla."

The big question was whether the vanilla was artificial flavoring; an analysis indicated the answer was "Yes."

29 ARRESTED IN OPERATION ALERT GO ON TRIAL

The right of non-conformity

The following article appeared in the July 15 issue of the Catholic weekly "Commonweal." Trial of the 29 persons involved in this account was scheduled to open in New York Oct. 26. The GUARDIAN will report in subsequent issues on the outcome.

A FRIGHTENING thing happened to our country on June 15. On that day citizens in a number of American cities were required to take shelter during a mock thermonuclear attack. In New York City, however, 29 people refused to co-operate in this test. Convinced that there is no defense against hydrogen bombs and that "Operation Alert" consequently fostered dangerous illusions, they decided they could not in conscience conform. They therefore notified public authorities in advance of their intention not to take shelter, and at the hour of the "raid" gathered in a park before the New York City Hall to stage their small protest against what they considered an attempt by the government to prepare the nation for mass-suicide.

There, in the park before New York City Hall, they were arrested, loaded into police wagons, and taken to jail. That evening they were arraigned in court. They had violated the New York State Defense Emergency Act of 1951 by refusing to take shelter during the mock air attack. Under the terms of this act their offense was a misdemeanor, but Judge Louis Kaplan called them murderers, and set their bail at fifteen hundred dollars each. Then he sent them back to jail.

Who were these people whose non-violent protest evoked the word "murder" from the magistrate and whose offense — a misdemeanor — called for such startling bail? They were a group of pacifists and conscientious objectors. They were from the Catholic Worker House of Hospitality in New York, the Protestant Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the pacifist War Resisters League. Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy were among the Catholic Workers; the Rev. A. J. Muste was with the Protestant group; and Bayard Rustin led members of the War Resisters League.

Here, certainly, was as unlikely a group of "murderers" as was ever assembled in an American court, but they had violated a civil defense act during a time of mock emergency, and so they met the full fury of police power and judicial recrimination. Now, released on bail, they await trial. If convicted (and, acting on principle, some of them intend to plead guilty), they face a year in prison, or a five hundred dollar fine, or both. Such, it seems, is the price of non-conformity in America today.

TWO ISSUES—both of overwhelming importance—are involved in this story of 29 people arrested, jailed, denounced from the bench, held at high bail, and now threatened with prison for conscientiously violating a public law. One issue is freedom of conscience: how far may the State go toward compelling an individual to cooperate in what it believes to be wrong? The other issue is one of constitutional procedure: to what extent may the Bill of Rights be suspended and the police power invoked against free speech and free assembly during a mock emergency?

The first issue—of freedom of conscience—must be faced by every American. When these 29 protesters were jailed we were, in a sense, all jailed. The second issue—of constitutional procedure—must be carried, if necessary, to the nation's highest courts, for in this suspension of constitutional rights, when no immediate danger existed, the foundations of American freedom were jeopardized.

The saint and the radical (and they are often one and the same) share a common, ironic destiny: honored by posterity, they are usually persecuted during their lifetimes. Joan of Arc was burned at the stake; Henry David Thoreau was imprisoned. We honor the saint and we honor the radical—dead; alive we find them too uncomfortable for our tribute.

In the United States, of course, we boast of having built a haven where the saint and the radical may follow their vocations untroubled, no matter how unpopular, how "non-conformist," their vocations may be; we have nourished a tradition of dissent, and we have guaranteed this tradition by constitutional law. Only in a "clear and present danger," we have said, may the rights of free speech and free assembly be curtailed by the power of the State.

But now they have been curtailed by executive proclamation of a mock emergency. And if this can happen, what else may follow? If our traditions of freedom of assembly (the very heart of our Bill of Rights) may be so easily set aside, at what stage on the road to an authoritarian society have we arrived? Have we really traveled so far from our free beginnings? If, as in this case, our most basic freedoms may be abrogated by executive proclamation of a simulated emergency, what meaning has the Constitution in America today?

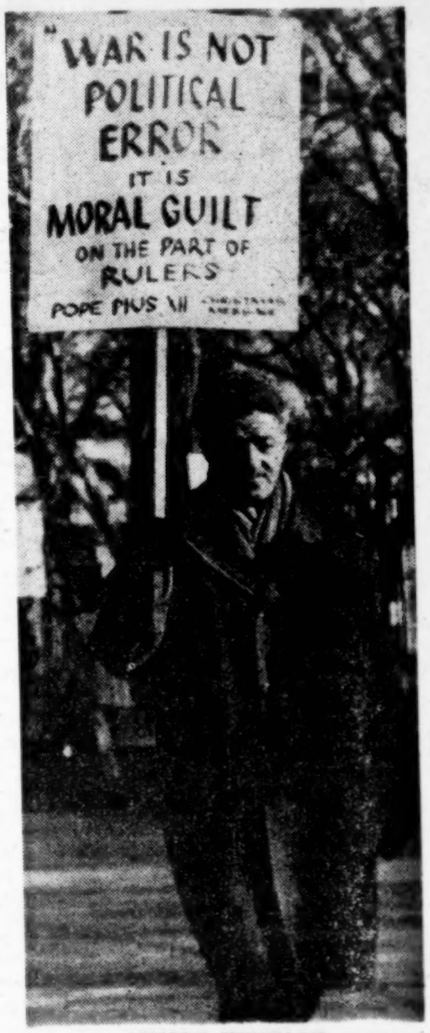
THE ISSUES in this case seem so basic that we expected some cry of dismay to come from the nation's press when these 29 were jailed. But there was no cry; indeed, there was largely no comment. So busy were the newspapers reporting the fifteen million hypothetical casualties of the "raid" that they took little notice of the 29 real casualties in the park before New York City Hall.

And few Catholic voices have been raised in protest, either, even though one of those arrested and now facing a possible prison term is Dorothy Day, one of the great witnesses to Christian charity in America today—certainly one of the great, heroic figures in the history of American Catholicism.

Dorothy Day's vocation has been a radical vocation. She has witnessed to the uncomfortable, the not "respectable," truths of Christianity. The example of her life rebukes most of us for our complacency. If a woman like Dorothy Day can be imprisoned in America for acting (out of love) as she believed she had to act, for bearing witness to the Gospel as she believed it must be witnessed to, then a terrible thing has happened to our country. And if we American Catholics, comfortable in our easy "patriotism," permit this to happen without protest and prayer, then something even more terrible has happened to us.

A society without its radicals is a dead society, just as a Church without its saints is a blighted Church.

They—the non-conformists of every age—do not need us; we need them to remind us of uncomforable truths, to rebuke our slothfulness and ease. When we dishonor them, we dishonor ourselves. If we imprison them we set shackles of mediocrity upon our own spirits. Dorothy Day—and those like her—may go to prison in any age, and they will go cheerfully, because they will still be free. But who then will deliver us? The rights of non-conformity are an index to the free society's well-being. We curtail those rights at our own great peril.



AMMON HENNACY
An unlikely murderer

THEY ARE NOT WILLING TO BE SILENT

What happened when the FBI came calling in Syracuse, N. Y.

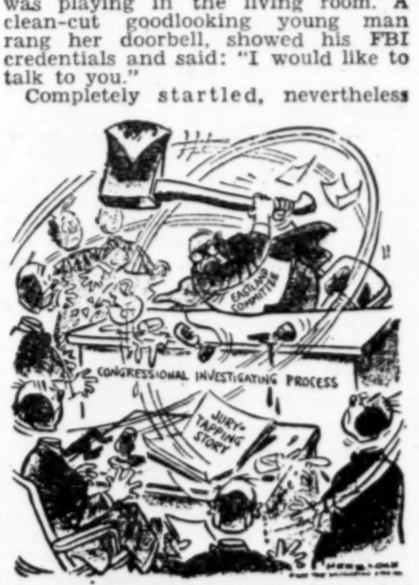
SYRACUSE, N. Y.

THIS IS WHAT happened to a friend of mine. It was a fine summer afternoon in August. Her husband had just returned home quite a bit earlier than was his custom. Her 8-year-old son was playing in the living room. A clean-cut goodlooking young man rang her doorbell, showed his FBI credentials and said: "I would like to talk to you."

Completely startled, nevertheless she said politely: "Won't you come in?" He seemed a trifle surprised at seeing her husband but sat down and said: "Do you know a Mr. X? [Someone she hardly knew]. He has applied for a Federal job and I'm trying to get some background on him."

This was the "door-opener."

Then he asked her to have her son leave the room. What happened in the next half hour seemd in retrospect to her and her husband to have the qualities of a nightmare. He informed her that he was not out to find Communists but the 10 or 20 people who were behind every Communist. To her question as to what is a Communist, he answered: "They're for popular causes: Negro rights, housing, peace." She said she was very concerned about the plight of the Negro people. He said, "You're ripe for the plucking."



Herblock in Washington Post

"What's all this fooling around with the judicial process?"

HE ATTEMPTED TO CAST suspicion on many of her Jewish friends (she and her husband are Gentile), accused her of being naive; said that 9 out of 10 normal white Americans would not go out of their way to help welcome a Negro family into their neighborhoods.

When she asked him what was his viewpoint on associating with those whom he smeared as questionable people, he urged her to go on associating with them for the purpose of remembering and reporting to him any "tidbits" or "phrases" which need not make sense to her but which the FBI with their experience and skill would "understand and be able to make use of."

"Do you mean you want me to spy on my friends?" she asked.

"Well," he said, "do you think more of your friends than you do of your country?" He expressed the hope that she would go on socializing with these people. She said that they couldn't afford many parties.

"That could be arranged," he said. He suggested that she say nothing to the people he had discussed about his visit. She said of course she would and asked, "Wouldn't any decent person?" "No" he said, "most people do not. If you tell them they'll make a big noise and that will hinder our efforts."

He suggested many times that she was "naive," that the FBI would be very interested in watching her progress for the next two years. She asked what would happen if she didn't decide to "help" him and he said that if her husband ever attempted to get a job requiring Federal security clearance he would not get the usual consideration because of his associations. He made it very clear that because this couple was Gentile he was sure they would have no qualms about "informing" on their Jewish friends.

HE LEFT with the request that she let him know in two weeks what she had decided. She made no attempt to contact him. Three weeks after the initial visit he appeared on her doorstep at which time she didn't let him in but told him that she had decided not to do what he had asked her.

The reaction of most people mentioned was a shock and horror. All are honorable, conscientious, principled people. Yet so degrading is this vicious practise of suspicion-casting that some have wished to forget all about it. They have wanted even to stop all discussion about the visit. But these two young people who lived through it are not willing to be silent. Both feel that the methods and motivations of this particular FBI man need to be known—that the violation of American principles by FBI men must be exposed.

The problem is how to take constructive action in this miasma-like atmosphere? This courageous young couple have weighed well the veiled and open threats (the young wife had nightmares about losing her children for several nights afterwards) and have decided to fight against the forces that produce this terror.

Can someone help with suggestions?

—Lillian E. Reiner

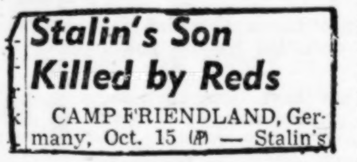
HERBERT APTHEKER'S "HISTORY AND REALITY"

How 'liberal illusion' nurtures reaction

By John T. McManus

PROF. ROBERT S. COHEN of the Department of Physics and Philosophy at Wesleyan University writes the introduction to **History and Reality,*** a collection of 19 essays written during the last eight years by Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Marxist scholar and historian, for such publications as **Masses & Mainstream, Political Affairs** and **Science & Society.** Prof. Cohen disagrees with Dr. Aptheker at specified points in **History and Reality** and states his views that there are other reasonable approaches to history than Marxism. But, he objects, "the America of the Cold War has denied both that Communism is reasoned and that a Communist can be moral," and concludes: "It is time that we questioned this view."

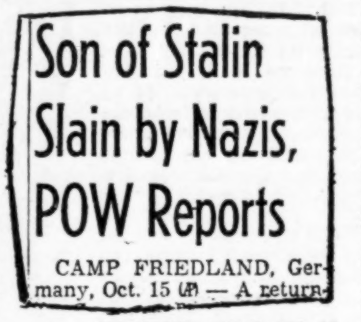
Prof. Cohen's introduction is newsworthy, of course, because few university profs these days have the spunk to defend the right of Communism to exist or even to analyze it objectively (as Prof. Cohen has done not only here but also as a defense witness in Smith Act proceedings). But to readers of **History and Reality** it is this reviewer's advice to save Prof. Cohen's scholarly and searching introduction until last, the better to judge his points of dissent as well as those of high appreciation.



Stalin's Son Killed by Reds

CAMP FRIENDLAND, Germany, Oct. 15 (AP) — Stalin's

Los Angeles Mirror, Oct. 16



Son of Stalin Slain by Nazis, POW Reports

CAMP FRIEDLAND, Germany, Oct. 15 (AP) — A return

Los Angeles Times, Oct. 16

THAT'S how it was

BOTH TITLE and introduction (and the opening paragraphs of this review) may tend to misrepresent **History and Reality** as an over-deep dish for normal appetites. And indeed, essay No. 1, from which the book takes its title, may reinforce this view. But before you are many pages along in essay No. 2 ("Walter Lippmann and Democracy," Aug., 1955) you are reassured that Dr. Aptheker serves up his victims seasoned to popular tastes. Under Aptheker's relentless, witty and artful attack, this most plausible of the reactionary thought-makers is exposed by his own words as an opponent of democracy for 40 years.

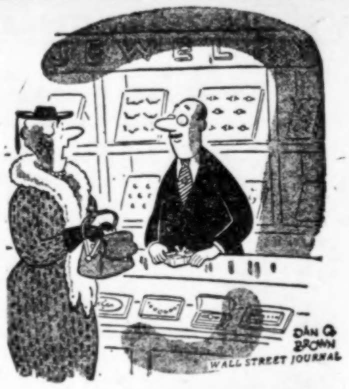
Similarly, under the subheading "Polemics on the 'New Conservatives,'" the "Cadillac Credo" of David Riesman, faith-healer for the upper middle class, gets an artistic going-over; as do "liberal" philosopher Sidney Hook, the "neo-Confederate" historians and "The Filthy Rich," these being the descendants of the Robber Barons of other years. Viewing their antics via the chronicling of "court-scribe" Cleveland Amory, Dr. Aptheker comments that they have "the morals of goats, the learning of gorillas and the ethics of—well, what they are: racist, war-inciting, enemies of humanity, rotten to the core, parasitic, merciless — and doomed."

THERE ARE many other such two-fisted drubbings throughout the book, on the informer system, the Hiss frameup, on Franco, the anti-Soviet "experts" and many other topics. But for ready reference in the battles of today, the most useful portions are those demolishing the position of the American "liberal." Of these the most devastating is the trouncing handed to Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., a founder of the Americans for Democratic Action and top theoretician of "the self-titled non-Communist 'left'—or the N. C. L. as the group is fondly called by the State Department." (Aptheker wrote this in '49, so the State Dept. referred to was Truman's). After 15 pages of merciless analysis of Schlesinger's works through Oct., 1949, Dr. Aptheker sums up his method as meretricious, his ideology as iniquitous and his program as "groomed to the needs of a ruling class seeking war and fascism."

THE READER OF THIS book can hardly come to any other conclusion than that "The Liberal Illusion," bellwethered by "The Schlesinger Fraud," is something the American progressive should not touch with a 10-foot pole. Yet the same Schlesinger was chief brain-truster for Adlai Stevenson in '52 (presumably because the Democratic program coincided with Schlesinger's) and many progressives voted for Stevenson in preference to the Progressive candidate Vincent Hallinan, apparently to keep the Republicans out of power.

For 1956 Dr. Aptheker's political party, which intends no candidate of its own and discourages other independent candidacies, now favors Stevenson for the Democratic nomination and urges support for any Democrat over any Republican for Presidency.

Dr. Aptheker's brilliant exposé of the liberal illusion seems indeed lost in the shuffle of today's politicking. For the one thing it does not offer, at any turn, is an apology for tailism in American politics.



Wall Street Journal

"Oh dear! I seem to be out of checks. Do you people accept money?"

******HISTORY AND REALITY, by Herbert Aptheker. Cameron Associates, New York. 289 pp. $3. (Available through Liberty Book Club, 100 W. 23 St. N.Y.C., at membership price of $1.64; or free as a dividend to new members.)*

TWO TO ONE AGAINST "EUROPE"

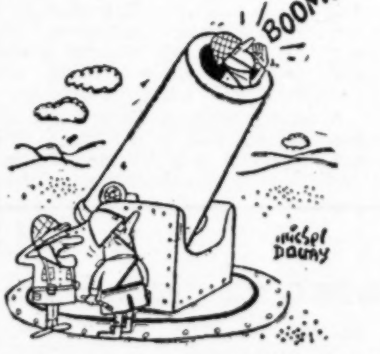
Vote leaves Saar issue up in the air; Faure government hurt, U.S. worried

BY A VOTE of more than 2 to 1, the Saar last week rejected the compromise plan Paris and Bonn had worked out last year to place it under the Western European Union.

Rich in coal and producing a large amount of steel from the iron ore of adjoining Lorraine, the Saar with its one million, predominantly German, population has long been a bone of contention between France and Germany. It was occupied by France after World War I; governed by the League of Nations until 1935, when it voted to rejoin Germany; again occupied by France after World War II. Since then it has been tied to the French economy, with internal political autonomy.

France's interest in the Saar is more economic than strategic. According to the European Coal and Steel Community's estimate, W. Germany produces 35% of its coal and steel, France and the Saar together 34%. Without the Saar, France's share would drop to 27%, well below W. Germany's. Should the Saar be reunited with Germany, W. German production would leave France way behind, and dominate the European Coal and Steel Community.

DISUNITED UNION: Since World War II ended, proposals to internationalize the territory have failed. One year ago Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer reluctantly accepted Premier Mendes-France's proposal to place the Saar under a commissioner chosen by the Western European Union (France, Britain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg).



Carrefour, Paris

"We ran out of ammunition, General."

Effel in Humanite, Paris

Asking for a rise in wage when I can't make both ends meet

The original French plan was to "Europeanize" the Saar by putting it under the political control of a federal European Union. It was then hoped that a European federation would grow out of the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Defense Community. But Britain refused to join and the French Assembly rejected the European Defense Community.

To accommodate Britain, a looser Western European Union was set up, which eventually became no more than "a military alliance whose sole political function was to be the guardian for the semi-Europeanized Saar" (**NYT,** 10/24). France kept alive its original idea of a "Europeanized" Saar as a device to prevent W. German control of the territory.

DRY DIVE: In effect, the Saarlanders were asked to vote for or against rule by a European Union which never came to life. A cartoon published in Saarbrucken during election week showed the Saar as a girl standing on a springboard above a swimming pool without water. On the empty pool's edge stood the French Marianne, telling Miss Saar:

"Go ahead and dive; the water will come later."

The vote left the Saar issue up in the air. Paris insisted that it would continue control over the Saar, although the Mendes-France-Adenauer plan provided no alternative in case of a negative vote. It will undoubtedly weaken French Premier Faure's position at the Oct. 27 Geneva conference and in the French national elections Faure has asked for in December. Adenauer has called a Cabinet meeting to discuss the vote. Washington was reported worried over the strain on French-W. German relations at a time when NATO itself shows signs of weakness.

THE CEYLON KIDNAP CASE: END OF ACT II

Rhoda de Silva quits America to join husband in England

On March 19, 1954, Rhoda de Silva, an American citizen married to a Ceylonese, arrived in New York after being virtually kidnaped in Ceylon and deported to the U. S. Not knowing where to turn, her first port of call was the GUARDIAN office, where she obtained clothing and money and was helped to find a place to stay. The GUARDIAN broke the story of her case and has fought for her since that March day. On Oct. 21, 1955, Rhoda de Silva made the GUARDIAN her last port of call before sailing for England to rejoin her husband, who is now there. She sent the following message from her ship on Oct. 22.

SS RYNDAM, HOBOKEN, N. J.

I AM SAILING to England to meet my husband after 19 months of involuntary separation and naturally I am happy about that. The State Dept. denied me a passport because I insist that my political beliefs are none of its business. I am, therefore, traveling on an affidavit of identity, to which the British Government, apparently unafraid that our presence there will disturb the tranquility of that country, has affixed a visa.

My husband is a Ceylonese and we had made his country our home. I had worked for **Time,** Inc., had been a writer for the London **Economist** and was co-author with my husband of a book on post-war Poland called "Peace on the Vistula" and author of "The Rosenbergs—What Was Their Crime?"

Suddenly—on March 17, 1954—without warning, charges, hearing or writ of habeas corpus, I was seized, turned over to Trans World Airlines and forced to fly from Ceylon to the U. S., where I had not been for ten years. I was deposited at Idlewild Airport on March 19, 1954, stockingless and wearing a thin tropical dress. I stated—and the newspapers printed: "I am a kidnapee of the U. S. Government."

TWA SUED: The government has since protested its innocence, obviously not intending to admit involvement in as odious an act as a kidnaping and the breaking up of a family. I have, however, confirmation of my allegation: I have brought suit for damages against TWA, charging the airline with false arrest and kidnaping. The chief defense of TWA appears to be that it was carrying out U. S. Government orders.

Those in and out of the State Dept. who selected us as a cold war target have thus arbitrarily taken 19 months out of the life of my husband and myself. They have uprooted us both, for Ceylon was our home. The damage they have caused is irreparable.

THE FIRST STEP: I believe the State Dept. intended that my husband and I should be permanently separated, for the Walter-McCarran Act, with its racial and thought control restrictions, would automatically bar his coming here. It is largely because of the work that has been done and the warm support we have had for our cause here and abroad, that our separation is about to be ended. For this I am especially grateful to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, which helped to publicize my case throughout the world.

Dunham cleared

(Continued from Page 1)

stopped the hearing short; if he wouldn't even admit that he was a professor, how could he be asked about "communism" at Temple?

The committee was furious. That same day it voted unanimously to cite him for contempt and demanded immediate action on the charge. If it wasn't upheld promptly, chairman Harold Velde complained, the inquiry "might as well close up shop."

COLLEGE ACTS FIRST: Dunham had been with Temple for 16 years, held lifelong academic tenure because he had been a full professor there for much more than the minimum ten years. But on March 1 Dr. Robert L. Johnson, Temple president, suspended him, saying:

> "You have deliberately created a doubt as to your loyalty status."

When, after several months, the swift prosecution demanded by Velde was not forthcoming, Temple's board of trustees decided to take the law into its own hands. On Sept. 23, 1953, it voted unanimously to dismiss Dr. Dunham:

> "[He] not only refused to cooperate in good faith with the agency of the government, but he also acted in clear contempt of the committee, and abused the high constitutional privilege he invoked."

DANGER OF THINKING: Said Dr. Dunham:

> "No man was ever dismissed for reasons that did him greater honor. I have stood for the exercise of our common rights under the Constitution and the Constitution thrives by such exercise. In defending the Constitution all penalties are small. The administrator and trustees of Temple University have liberated me, but they have put themselves in chains. They have surrendered to the first political adventurer who passed by. I cannot envy them. They administer what is, or was, an educational institution, and they can never be sure when thinking may break out."

Last week, on Oct. 19, Dr. Dunham finally went on trial for contempt in a federal court in Washington. The proceedings didn't take long. When the arguments for both sides were in, Federal Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy promptly granted a defense motion for a judgment of acquittal. He ruled that Prof. Dunham had been clearly within his rights in invoking the Fifth Amendment.

BARROWS DUNHAM
He defied—and won

At GUARDIAN press time Dr. Johnson and Temple's board of trustees were still to be heard from.

PHILA. TEACHER WINS: In Philadelphia on Oct. 20 a Common Pleas Court voided the dismissal of high school English teacher Herman A. Beilan who had been fired in January, 1954, for "incompetency" after invoking the Fifth Amendment in a Congressional inquiry there. The three-man court, headed by Judge Curtis Bok, upheld his right to claim the Constitutional protection. Beilan had taught for 24 years in the Philadelphia school system. His case was the first of 30 to be passed upon by a court.

SLOCHOWER CASE: In another Fifth Amendment action, the Supreme Court on Oct. 19 heard argument in behalf of Harry Slochower who was fired from Brooklyn College after invoking the protection before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1952. Slochower had been an associate professor of literature and German with 27 years service to the college.

He told the committee that he was not a Communist at the time of his questioning, but declined to answer questions about his activities in 1940 and 1941. He was automatically dismissed under a 1938 provision of the New York City charter which calls for dismissal of any employe who, in an official inquiry, claims that answers to questions concerning his official conduct might incriminate him. (The provision was originally adopted as a weapon against graft and corruption in the city government).

Ephraim S. London, who defended Slochower, argued that the charter provision is unconstitutional because states may not pass laws taking away rights guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

A PROTECTION TOO: In a brief upholding the dismissal, New York City Corporation Counsel Peter Campbell Brown argued that use of the Fifth Amendment "permits only two inferences": either the invocation "would tend to prove the witness guilty of a crime" or "the witness deliberately chose to commit perjury by falsely swearing that the answer would tend to incriminate him."

But in oral argument before the Court, Daniel T. Scannell, who represented the City, backed away from this contention. It was sharply challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union in a friend-of-the-court brief which cited an opinion by Chief Justice Earl Warren last May. In that opinion Warren held that, while the Fifth might be "a shelter to the guilty," it is also "a protection to the innocent." London cited a recent California Circuit Court decision in which a similar argument "was summarily dismissed by the Court as 'clear error.'"

SHARP QUIZ: Scannell was closely questioned by several Justices. Black asked him if the Supreme Court had ever upheld a state law which denied a person "something guaranteed by the Constitution." Scannell thought this might be "the first time that it has been presented to this Court." Warren asked:

> "Do you believe that a claim of privilege is consistent with innocence?"

Scannell allowed it "could be. . . ." Frankfurter observed that an employe's "invocation of the Fifth Amendment cuts his head off" as far as his job is concerned and pointed out:

> "This Court has decided that in 1941 it was not subversive to belong to the Communist Party."

Black added that the effect of the Charter provision is the same as if the State of New York were to pass a law now barring for life from a state job anyone who belonged to the CP in 1941.

Study war no more

The Paris **Le Monde** (9/27) made the following appropriate comment on the Army's training course to simulate "torture" of prisoners of war at the hands of the enemy:

> "Unless they decide to shoot their soldiers in order to teach them how to die one can scarcely see how the Americans can further extend their experimental studies in military training."

LOS ANGELES

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A little truth about TV

the SPECTATOR

By Herb Tank

A LOT OF PEOPLE who cannot name even one of the writers of the movies they see, know the name of TV playwright Paddy Chayefsky, author of the film **Marty**. It is seldom that a writer in mass media is paid this great praise of recognition, more often allotted to ball-players.

His more sophisticated critics assert that Chayefsky's work looks so very good only because so much of TV is so very bad. Either that, or because the TV Cyclops, and its extraordinary technology, compensate for mediocre writing.

It is really much simpler. And much more profound. Paddy Chayefsky has an audience—and their recognition—because he has recognized **them**. He has recognized his audience in the truly wonderful way that an artist can: by fashioning out of the everyday materials of their lives something of art and holding it up for them to see. This is true even though as art his plays are miniatures, made up of little truths, their social reference often as narrow as the TV screen itself.

THE LITTLE TRUTHS: Little truths in art can be used to disguise a big lie. This happens in the flashy hands of Elia (**On the Waterfront**) Kazan. This is not the case with Chayefsky.

A little truth, if it is truth at all, has social relevance. If there were no positive social meaning in the work of Chayefsky, he would not have an audience who could remember his name.

The degree of truthful observation in Chayefsky's TV plays, whether he intends it so or not, tears at a big myth so powerfully enforced by the opinion-makers. It is the myth that everything in today's America is just dandy, that everybody worth his salt is making good; and if you are not making it, there must be something wrong with you. He shows us things about ourselves that we have stopped—because of the pressures of American life—revealing to our neighbors.

Most of us are broke, you know. At least we need a lot more dough than we have. But the myth is so powerful that we are ashamed to have anyone discover it.

Chayefsky has drawn this veil of shame a bit. A good measure of the problems of his people in **The Bachelor Party, The Big Deal, The Mother, Printer's Measure**, and his most recent but unpublished play, **Catered Wedding**, stem from a shamefully un-American lack of the dollar.

THE CONTRADICTION: "You can write honest dramatic literature for television, rewarding to your sense of pride," Chayefsky writes in the notes for his recently published TV plays.* And yet at another point his notes state:

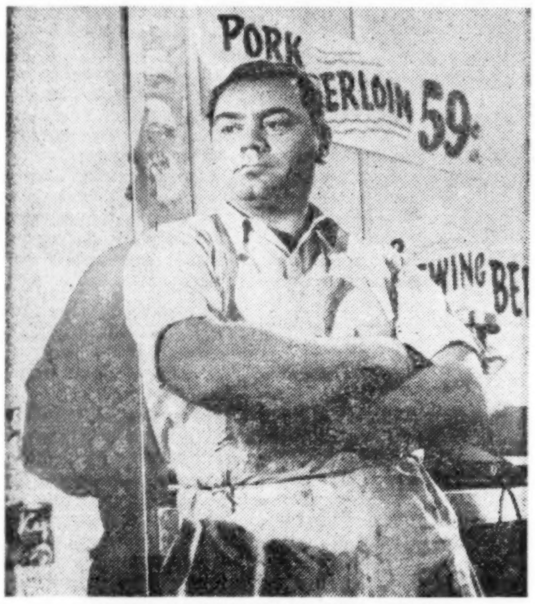
> "The advertising agencies are interested only in selling their clients' products and they do not want dramas that will disturb potential customers. . . . You cannot write about adultery, abortion, the social values of the times, or almost anything that relates to adult reality."

Matching these contradictory statements helps us to understand both the strength and the weaknesses in Chayefsky's work, and that of other serious writers toiling in the TV vineyards. It also provides a basis for criticizing Chayefsky's theoretical ideas.

Also, since both quotes have truth, it indicates that the TV industry itself is not without contradiction, a fact important for audiences and for writers.

•

NEW AREAS? I believe Chayefsky has brought new areas to the TV screen—the areas of everyday experience that Chayefsky has in common with his audience—areas of observation that had been banned, or ignored, until Chayefsky managed to get them shown. But in his notes Chayefsky says:



THIS IS MARTY IN THE FILM
As played by Ernest Borgnine

> ". . . in the desperate search to adjust, new areas of writing are being opened up. Television drama cannot expand in breadth, so it must expand in depth. In the last year or so, television writers have learned that they can write intimate dramas—'intimate' meaning minutely detailed studies of small moments of life. . . . Now, the word for television drama is depth, the digging under the surface of life for the more profound truths of human relationships. This is an area that no other dramatic medium has handled or can adequately handle."

And further on in the same paragraph:

> "The theater and all its sister mediums can only be a reflection of their times, and the drama of introspection is the drama that the people want to see."

And how is this done? Chayefsky tells us:

> "The essence of these two shows (**Marty, The Mother**) lies in their literal reality. I tried to write the dialogue as if it had been wire-tapped. I tried to envision the scenes as if a camera had been focused upon the unsuspecting characters and had caught them in an untouched moment of life. This sort of meticulous literalness is something that can be done in no other medium."

THE INNER WORLD: I think Chayefsky is kidding himself a bit. The word for this kind of television drama is not **depth, it is naturalism**. It is naturalism that fondles little truths in order to avoid bigger truths because the bigger truths today are branded subversive. Unlike the naturalism of Zola and Norris, which was a one-sided criticism of the outer world, naturalism today tends to be a one-sided criticism of inner worlds. This is its viewpoint. It is safer. It exists in every medium. It is one of the main characteristics of today's novel and the theater.

Drama critic Walter Kerr of the **Herald Tribune** writes:

> "The contemporary theater insists that a play, to be true, must be small and casual. . . . But the experience cannot exhilarate us; it has not added notably to our knowledge."

Is this then the drama of our times, the drama that the people want to see? Not according to Kerr:

> "We remain grateful to the play that shows us more of the truth than we dared face by ourselves."

EXPANDING IN DEPTH: Chayefsky says writing in depth means digging into "subconscious guilts and resentments." I contend that this is only scratching the surface of reality. At best it leads to half a truth. Truly "digging under the surface of life for the more profound truths of human relationships" is to discover, and reveal, that the most profound truths of human relationships are social.

There is one way, however, in which naturalism in TV differs from naturalism in the novel and the theater. In the latter today it is a step backward. In TV it has been an advance: it has some observation of real life. Before Chayefsky, TV wouldn't touch reality with a ten-foot pole. This is important for audiences. It indicates that further advances can be made. And they have.

REALISM: Sunday night, Oct. 2, Philco Television Playhouse presented a play of substance and truth. **A Man Is Ten Foot Tall**, by Robert Alan Arthur, dealt with a Negro longshoreman, secure in the knowledge of his own identity and worth, who helps a young white worker find his. He comes into conflict with the dock bosses and the corrupt system that victimizes longshoremen on the East Coast. Splendidly acted by Sidney Poitier, the Negro worker was a beautifully conceived, life-size portrayal. Deeply individual, yet typical, with zest for life, here was a whole man who could perhaps be destroyed, but never defeated. Had the men and forces opposing this character been more sharply delineated, the play would have taken on the proportions of great tragedy.

Arthur and Chayefsky, and other serious TV writers, are making a real contribution toward raising the level of TV. It is up to audiences to lend them real support.

"Truth in Science," wrote the English scientist, Dr. H. Levy, "can be commercially useful. Truth in literature cannot always be. Commerce is not concerned with the whole of truth. **Yet human beings are.**"

HERB TANK, playwright and director, author of "Longitude 49," is a former member of the New York Film Critics' Circle.

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HEAR CARL BRADEN . . Story of a man convicted for sedition in Kentucky for helping a Negro family to obtain a home. Chairman: **HARVEY O'CONNOR.** Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m., Curtis Hall, 410 S. Michigan. Adm. $1. Auspices: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

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CARL MARZANI, author of "We Can Be Friends," will mark 38th anniversary of Soviet govt. and 22nd anniversary of U.S.-U.S.S.R. diplomatic relations with lecture on **"We Will Be Friends."** Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Fri., Nov. 18, 8:15 p.m. Adm. $1 (tax incl.) Ausp: Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 189 W. Madison.

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******FACTS OF LIFE FOR CHILDREN: The Answers to Give when Your Child Asks about Sex. By the Child Study Association of America. Adie Suehsdorf, Editor. Maco Magazine Corporation, New York,* 1954. 50c.

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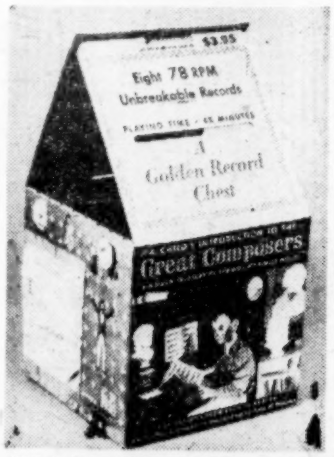

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